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512 has made a catch of fish his wife, having cooked it in the
431 evening, will carry portions across to her neighbours; but for the most part the meal is prepared for the immediate family.

512 After dark there is conversation and the liveliness of the
521 village will continue. Any happening of the humdrum day
578 will have passed from ear to ear, and one may now hear occasional shouted comments, greeted with yells of laughter from a distant fireside. Some incident of slighted feelings during the day may lead to an angry outburst in the evening, when the victim pours forth his feelings in a molten stream of indignation, which may call forth fierce retorts, but is more likely to be heard in silence by the rest of the village. Sometimes an individual, either to air his own grievance or express his opinion in an inter-clan dispute, will parade back and forth among the houses, shaking his spear and denouncing his enemy. But happily, though swift to anger, the Orokaiva is content to allow it a verbal overflow, and very seldom comes to blows with his fellow villagers.

512 Often the menfolk of the village will be met in a cheerful
533 company to enliven—or some would say make hideous—the night with song. The singers assemble in the *oro* or men's house, drawn into a close circle about a fire or preferably a kerosene lamp. Three or four drums and a conch-
[534] shell are the instruments of music, the last in the hands of a smallish boy who, though thrust somewhat into the background, willingly supplies the wind for an instrument which is more exacting of endurance than of musical finesse. When everything is in readiness the drums begin to beat and some precentor strikes up on a high pitch, singing with spirit and not without a certain taste one or two bars of a melody to words that are for the most part meaningless. As he finishes, his song is caught up and repeated in a very full-throated manner by the chorus, accompanied by the drums and the well-timed but not always harmonious blasts of the shell trumpet. The leader sings again and the chorus follows, till, after many repetitions, they all pause from their exertions and refresh themselves with betel-nut. With frequent changes of tune and frequent pauses this singing may go one till late at night; indeed on occasions of festivity

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it is no uncommon thing to see the singers dispersing for their night's rest at break of day. But happily, when a European is in their village they have the politeness and the deference to the common European habit of sleeping by night, to discontinue their concert when he extinguishes his lamp. Then the older folk and the mere boys will retire to rest and the young men will follow their own devices, either turning in or going a courting. No one will see them creep into the houses of their sweethearts where by prearrangement they are assured of a welcome.

The village is now in complete silence. It may be warm and drizzling rain, or it may be clear and cold. In the latter case the fires will be burning underneath the pile-houses, and now and again one will hear the voice of the father gruffly rousing one of his children to go down and stir the embers or add fuel. Then follow the sounds of sleepy and complaining acquiescence, the fire flares and crackles, the youngster creeps back to his sleeping mat, and all is silence once more.

At times in the dead of night one may waken to hear a woman's voice raised in a solitary dirge for dead husband or child—long-sustained, clear notes whose effect is singularly sad. From the standpoint of music it must be confessed that such performances are variable, yet sometimes they are of the purest tone and uttered with an admirable restraint. Long-drawn, and with a suspicion of *tremolo*, the dirge ends characteristically with two or three high-pitched sobs or whimpers. There are now no sounds other than the tireless croaking of the frogs in the swamp, the hooting of owls, or the occasional flapping of a fruit-bat among the bananas, until the tailless rooster on the house-top thinks fit to salute the coming dawn.

### *Occasional Activities*

Such is the uneventful routine of the Orokaiva day. Yet although there is undoubtedly a general absence of varied interest and incident in native life compared with our own, it must not be supposed that the typical day which I have endeavoured to describe is by any means invariable. There are

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inches or more from this closed end is a hole. The player holds the flute horizontally. He sets his lips to the edge of the hole and covers one ear with one of his hands. Sometimes he covers both ears and holds the flute in the crooks of his arms. Thus two men facing one another play with great intentness and evident enjoyment, each bowing and scraping a little to his partner in the duet (Plate XXIV*b*).

The very limited number of notes is doubled by the fact that the instruments[3] are differently pitched, and being played antiphonally they are together capable of producing little cadences or phrases that are pretty enough, although trifling and endlessly repeated. Such tunes have different names which they sometimes derive from their resemblance to bird-calls and responses.

*Miscellaneous Instruments.* These sacred flutes are of course esoteric instruments and seem to be invariably associated with the bull-roarer, *umbubu*. This familiar instrument is a thin slat of palm-wood with a hole drilled through one end. It is attached by means of a string to a long stick. Being swung round and round the slat revolves rapidly, producing a wide range of noises which may be described as whirring, booming, or howling. The Orokaiva example of this widely dispersed object is usually without ornament.

A third instrument—if so it may be called—which belongs to the initiation ceremonies is the *koni pamoni*. This is merely a hollow shell of the tree *Puga*, by blowing on the edge of which a thin expressive whistle is produced. Like the notes of the flutes and the booming of the bull-roarer, this is meant to represent the voice of the *siango* or *embahi*, spirits of the dead, who are crying out for food.

A jew's harp (*pingoru*) is made of bamboo as shown in the sketch. It is held in the mouth, being gripped by finger and thumb of the left hand, while the string is lightly jerked by the right hand. The vibrator is called *pingoru-bi*.

A rudimentary stringed instrument, also called *pingoru*, is made from a young sago midrib. A strip of the green bark

played by blowing through a hole in the side. This set is known as *Saregoroba*. The set used outside the *Gaba* is known as *Nawerowoba*. The pipes in this case are blown from the end (*Annual Report*, 1923-4, p. 90).

3 [i.e. sacred flutes — Analyst.]

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any ceremonial necessity, other than that implied by revenge, which demanded a cannibal raid.

*Cannibalism*

The reason for cannibalism itself has been given by natives as the simple desire for good food. Indeed, we might profitably seek to explain why some people are *not* cannibals rather than why some people are. Anthropologically speaking the fact that we ourselves should persist in a superstitious, or at least sentimental, prejudice against human flesh is more puzzling than the fact that the Orokaiva, a born hunter, should see fit to enjoy perfectly good meat when he gets it. The aversion from cannibalism within the tribe is presumably to be ascribed to the same sentimental reason which, with a wider scope, turns us against human flesh in general. It was the custom to eat all victims made in an *isoro*, and they were only abandoned when the fear of counter-attack made the raiders leave in too great a hurry to be encumbered, or, as some informants have said, when the victims were so old, scraggy, and wrinkled as to be not worth the carrying.

When the victorious raiders returned they announced their success from afar off by a distinctive rhythm on the *hui* which (according to Aiga informants) may be represented thus:

— — - —, — — - — —.

There were conventional songs proper to the occasion, such as (an Aiga example),

*Eruga tune kambaja-one*
Eruga leaf seasoning
*Isuga tune kambaja-one*
Isuga leaf seasoning

by which the women were given to understand that they should prepare 'cabbage' for the cooking; or (a Sangara example)

*Umo tibue kiari-ta koiko-ta,*

which indicated that the enemy had fled (*koiko*), anxious to see (*kiari*) the familiar place where they drew water (*umo*

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727 *tibu*). The men who had not themselves secured victims
633 would sing (another Sangara example),

*U sina nane araka, u sina nane,*

'Mine was like a water-fight', by which they meant that they had fought as ineffectually as children bathing and splashing one another with water.

727 The corpses of grown men were tied by hands and feet
482 to a pole and carried face downward. In the case of a child one hand was tied to one foot, and a warrior would sling the body over his shoulder as a hunter might a wallaby's. Usually, perhaps always, the victim was dead before he was bound in this manner.

An ingenious, if gruesome, method of carrying human flesh was actually observed by a former Resident Magistrate in the Division.

'The limbs had been peculiarly treated. The ankle-joints had been severed, leaving the tendon Achilles intact. The bones of the leg had then been excised, and the pelvical bone removed. The ham had been neatly cut off. The boneless leg was wrapped carefully round a three-foot stick, and the foot secured to the stick by a piece of vine. In this manner the flesh could be carried comfortably on one's back.' [1]

727 Informants have said that no captives except desirable women, and sometimes little children, were allowed to live: it was a safer thing to kill them outright to prevent all chance of escape. There was, as far as I am aware, no such thing as torture, and the suggestion that one of the infant captives might be kept and fattened like a pig against some future occasion was regarded as horrible: how would it be thinkable to kill a child that was already calling its captives *aja* and *mama*?[2] True torture, as far as I am aware, was never practised, though C. A. W. Monckton, as Resident Magistrate of the North-Eastern Division, writes: '. . . the Dobodura attacked and defeated the Notu, driving them from

[1] W. E. Armit, in *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, quoted by J. H. P. Murray in *Papua or British New Guinea*, pp. 331, 332.

[2] Chinnery and Beaver, however, recount an incident in which the Yema 'killed a Gilita boy named Omba, who had been captured when very young, tied him up', and sent the body to the Binandele (*Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 159). But here the case is somewhat different. Yema and Binandele were in alliance against the Gilita, and the Yema had just received a present of a pig from the Binandele.

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look after them. They discard all ornaments, but it seems, nowadays at least, to be a matter of indifference whether or no they wear a *bo*. They must not wash, and it is said to be the proper thing to keep the house warm by a fire underneath; though this, I believe, is not meant as a trial to the initiates, but rather to make them comfortable. Whenever they please they may exercise themselves in the *sama* enclosure, and occasionally they go farther afield in the bush.

Chinnery and Beaver give a number of rules and precepts which the children are supposed to learn in their seclusion;[1] and I have been told that during this period they are instructed to be honest, obliging, and diligent. But we must not picture the *sama* enclosure as a severe school of tribal morals. It is certain that the initiates live a thoroughly indolent and easy life, doing no work save the plaiting of armlets and such tasks, in which there is more of amusement than labour. Their hardest task is that of learning to play the flutes (*sepiri*, *inagu*, or *gauro*), and it is said that the duration of their seclusion will be regulated by the skill which the school attains: the sooner they learn, the sooner they come out. But there is no doubt that the regulating factor is really the supply of food for the feast.

The method of playing these flutes has already been described (p. 89). It may be added that of the pair, which are invariably played in duet, one is called the male (*sianja*) and the other the female (*buega*). In Divina Kovari the former was called *sepiri* and the latter *inagu*; in Wasida, where *inagu* was a general term for 'flute', the male was called *otobu*, and the female *eb*. There seems to be no essential difference between the two save one of pitch.

While engaged in these very easy occupations the initiates are eating heartily, one might almost say deliberately battening. There is no restriction in the variety of their food, though it is served to them, not by their womenfolk who cook it, but by some old men who frequent the *sama* enclosure. It is the duty especially of the candidate's *nobo* and his wife (the candidate's *tata*) to ration him during seclusion.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 76.

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881 vestiture was over, the *ebamei* crowded on to the *obu* platform at the end of the village on which were already strewn heaps of high-smelling pig flesh. It was by now growing dusk, but there was still enough daylight for them to make a brilliant patch of colour against the dark background of forest trees. The reason for this move on the part of the *ebamei* was said variously to be (1) that all the people should see them, (2) that they should see all the people, and (3) that they should see all the pig meat.

881 785 During the whole of this time the *ebamei* have had to support the weight of their *kokumbari* feathers and ornaments, to which has now in most cases been added that of their *otobu*; and they have neither drunk water, nor, except for banana and sugar-cane, broken their fast since morning.

881 786 These ordeals, however, must continue throughout the night, which is occupied with singing and dancing and with the *ai sumbasiona*, or abusing of the women. This latter consists of highly obscene choruses and action songs, to which the women respond in kind and with no lack of spirit. It may be that under the circumstances morality is loosened. I quote a sentence of Chinnery and Beaver's: 'In ordinary circumstances an initiation is a time of somewhat general licence, promiscuous intercourse being permitted between any initiated man and woman.'[1] Witnesses have assured me that such promiscuity is confined to the initiation ceremonies. The initiates bear no part in it, but between their elders it is unrestricted. No husband might object if another man made free with his wife, for, it was said, he would fear retaliation by sorcery if he interfered. Needless to say I have no more than verbal evidence for this licence, but there is little doubt that at these times it does occur.

881 784 Next morning the *ebamei* are subjected to a rite called *ate-ate*, which appears to mean literally 'demonstration'. Once more they sit in a row on the logs, each with a man behind him armed with a stout stick. In front of the initiates stand their respective mothers holding a taro in the left hand, and the sharp peeler of oyster or coco-nut shell

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 77.

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(ii) The morning of the festival sees all the guests assembled. The performers are decorating themselves in the bush.

(iii) The ballet makes its appearance at some moment during the afternoon.

(iv) After dancing some ten minutes or more the ballet goes off and brings back the movable stage properties.

(v) While they resume the dance the actors, *buivi* and *binei*, make their entry and proceed with the play. This being concluded, they dance off and disappear in the bush.

(vi) The ballet proceeds for a while with the main dance, and then breaks off into a series of minor 'nature' dances.

The performance of the dance and drama may be said to end here. The paraphernalia of the play, however, are brought together, and finally disposed of in a ceremonial manner, but this may be a matter of months afterwards. I shall now proceed to deal with the Orokaiva dance in detail, giving an account—confessedly slight—of its technique.

### *The Dance*

The general name for 'dance' is *java* (Binandele *ya*). As far as I have ascertained there are five main kinds practised by the Orokaiva, viz. (1) *Kuru*, (2) *Paruka*, (3) *Arijo* or *Saunda*, (4) *Puga*, and (5) *Si*. Only the first two are accompanied by song, and only the last three are accompanied by the drama.[1] The first, *kuru*, is without any definite formation save that of a group of men and boys clustered about several drummers. They dance slowly in one direction and then back over the same ground, singing meanwhile. Their movements are quite unpretentious, and might be described as rhythmical shuffling. In all the other dances the performers are in pairs one behind the other, forming double file. Each kind has its appropriate drums and rhythm, the drums being carried by the dancers themselves.

[1] The drama is not an invariable accompaniment of *Arijo*, for I have seen a performance of this dance without it. I cannot speak with certainty of *Puga* or *Si*, though I am given to understand that they are always associated with a dramatic performance.

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(1) *Kuru*; also called *Gatari, Puruto, Jivari.*

*Form*: Dancers clustered about drummers.

*Drum*: *Ino* (large) and *Ebu* (medium); accompanied by singing.

*Rhythm*: Regular continuous beat. (Spondaic.)

*No Drama.*

(2) *Paruka, Baruga* (the name of the southern neighbours of the Orokaiva).

*Form*: Dancers in double file; the movements are lighter and more rapid than in 3, 4, or 5.

*Drum*: *Ebu*; accompanied by singing.

*Rhythm*: Time of three, with the stress on the second beat, the third being missed or made with an almost inaudible tap of the finger-tips. (Iambic.)

Natives call this rhythm '*Guvru Gúvru—Guvru Gúvru—*.' In pronouncing, the two syllables of *Guvru* must be run as nearly as possible into one.

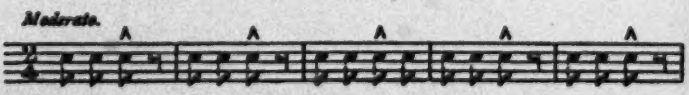
*No Drama.*

(3) *Saunda* or *Arijo* (*Saunda*—the small drum; *Arijo*—men's dancing or singing house).

*Form*: Dancers in double file.

*Drum*: *Saunda* (small); no singing.

*Rhythm*: Time of four, stress on third beat, fourth beat usually missed. (Anapaestic.)




*Drama.*

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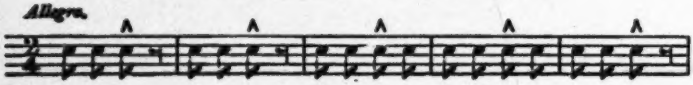
(4) *Puga* (*Puga*, or, in the Binandele form, *Bua*—the empty shell of the *Puga* fruit, used as a rattle. *Torepa*, which means the same, is another name for this dance).

*Form*: Dancers in double life.

*Drum*: *Saunda*; no singing.

*Rhythm*: Same as *Saunda*, but quicker, and the fourth beat heard more often. (Anapaestic.)




*Drama.*

(5) *Si, Shi, Ji,* &c. (the word means 'weeping').

*Form*: Dancers in double file.

*Drum*: *Ebu*; no singing.

*Rhythm*: Time of two, stress on first beat; occasionally varied by three short beats instead of two. (Trochaic and occasionally dactylic.)

Natives call this rhythm '*Kingi Kingi Kigigi*', &c.

*Drama.*

I can give very little information as to the origin of these several kinds of dance. It is generally admitted that *kuru* is the most primitive of them. It is of universal distribution, and seems to have attained to no kind of specialization. It is merely the old style of singing together and moving in unison, and is ready for any occasion. *Baruga* is a popular dance, and appears to be universally distributed. It is said to have come, as its name implies, from the south, but whether it is earlier or later than *Saunda*, *Puga*, or *Si* I am unable to say definitely.

*Arijo* (or *Saunda*) is now widely distributed, though informants have declared that it comes from the northern Orokaiva. As to *Puga* and *Si*, it seems likely that they at

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X 794 796 The rites—they hardly deserve such a name—are of an exceedingly sociable character, consisting typically of a singing in concert, to the accompaniment of drums, and of feasting with certain new forms of etiquette, the whole festive ceremony being known as *Kasamba*. The songs—● [533] like so many native songs, unintelligible alike to the listener and the singers—would often appear to be, in their origin, exhortations or hymns of praise to the taro. [535] Certain sects perform distinctive dances, but, except in a few instances, the dance has not been highly elaborated, and remains a minor feature of the cult. Perhaps as an X 794 786 unintentional substitute, the innumerable followers of the movement indulged in various kinds of foolish antics, with reeling, staggering, and a violent shaking of the head and limbs known as *jipari*. There was no attempt to control these actions—rather the contrary—and they commonly ended in mild contortions and paroxysms. Such uncontrolled bodily movements do not belong to the Taro cult alone, but have been a common and unpleasant feature of many of the new religious movements enumerated above.

X 794 792 While practically every one has been a willing convert to the Taro cult in so far as it meant participation in the song and feast, and while perhaps the majority have given way at some time or other to the pleasant abandonment of the *jipari*, there is a wide class of Taro *experts* or special exponents of the cult. It is impossible to set a definite limit to this class. There are some who are recognized as leaders and who are very strongly 'possessed', and others who are little more than laymen. However, it is possible to include them all under the name of *ba-embo*, which means literally 'Taro man'. Such men, who, like the *Baigona* men, might be called priests of the cult, officiate and lead in the ceremonial feasting; they perform certain duties in the taro gardens; they make a special practice of *jipari* and similar contortions; and they subject themselves to certain taboos. The theory of their conduct is that of possession by a spirit, either of the taro itself or of the dead.

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X 794 796 574 branches for their guests to sit on. Meanwhile the guests file into the village, headed by some old warrior with his stone club upon his shoulder, and if they are well-bred Orokaiva all this stormy welcome will not provoke so much as a flicker of response in their faces. They sit down abruptly, forming a shallow arc, and once seated seem to relax their gravity as their hosts ply them with betel-nut.

[346] Possibly a special platform or house, a sort of band-stand, has been erected for the occasion. This is called *ba oro*, i.e. 'Taro men's house', and is meant for the somewhat exclusive use of the accredited Taro men during the day, and for the chorus which is to continue throughout the night. The singers will crowd about a fire in the centre of the floor; if the night be cold, they will sit more comfortably in the ascending heat of fires on the ground beneath. One man after another leads, singing a stave or two with the truly musical voice of the Orokaiva, and as, or almost before, he finishes, the whole chorus bursts forth with the refrain. The drums beat the distinctive Taro rhythm, viz. two equal beats followed by a pause equivalent to one of them, or time of three with the third beat missed. This rhythm, I believe, is used throughout the whole Division by the Taro singers, and, as far as I know, exclusively. It is the same rhythm as that of the dance *baruga*, practised long previous to the advent of Taro, save that it is considerably slower. According to one informant, the Taro measure had been specified, like other details of the cult, in a dream. The [534] drums are tuned with no little care, the lizard skin being tautened with lumps of beeswax until the correct tone is obtained. Shell trumpets are blown by one or two boys, whose enthusiasm is not unequal to the immense staying power which this instrument demands; but too often the shell trumpet, which admits of no tuning, shatters the harmony of the concert, and one can understand why a distracted missionary lit his Primus stove and placed it by his reading-lamp so that its roar might drown the discords of the *kasamba*.

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The singing is called sometimes *kasamba*, sometimes *tinogu*: the second word, like the first, is one of the new Taro vocabulary, presumably belonging to the Binandele dialect, but used nowadays by Taro men among the Aiga, for instance, in preference to their own word *peungu*. As so often with native songs, the meaning is very obscure, even to the singers; and sometimes the theme, when it is discovered, appears somewhat beside the mark. Mr. Elder writes, regarding the Taro songs, 'some of them had little or nothing to do with taro. One for instance ran, "I'm a duck, I'm a duck, a jamb in the river, I'm a duck"'. And he not ineptly adds, 'I fancy the Taro worshipper who composed that song must secretly have been an unbeliever, and a bit of a humorist'. But very commonly the song consists of a series of apostrophes to the taro, a kind of salutation or hailing of it by name, with the cry of welcome, '*Oroda!*' which is a countersign of the cult. Thus one may hear, '*Oroda Kaiva, oroda Porove, Ovivi!*' &c., in endless musical repetition; or '*Ba de aja borejo*', 'Mother taro increase', and similar phrases, little canticles in which praise, exhortation, and prayer are combined. Very often it is futile to search too deeply for a meaning, because the words of the song have been learned by rote, and so confused in the course of transmission that they have become little better than gibberish. But whatever their meaning or lack of it, the songs are understood to contribute in some way to the growth of the taro; and some informants have declared that the Taro spirits heard them and responded.

As the Taro men have adopted a new name for the feast—*kasamba* instead of the old-fashioned *pona*—so they have introduced certain new formalities into the conduct of the feast. Taro must be cut up into small lumps; when cooked it must be ranged in a row of boat-shaped wooden dishes *teo*, or the large platters made of canoe-board and called *betaia*; from the earthenware cooking-pot it must be transferred to the wooden dish by means of the

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time-honoured practice of extracting the source of ailment in some material form, e.g. by sucking it out, is practised by the Orokaiva under the name of *bara*. As I propose to deal at greater length with native medicine in another report, I need not describe this operation here. While commonly performed by the Taro doctor, it is, of course, as a practice of world-wide distribution, long antecedent to the cult. Another process, that of *humbari*, or 'taking', is in universal use. This consists in massaging the patient toward the extremities of his limbs, with a peculiar plucking action. The masseur affects to be catching something from the patient's body and throwing it away. From time to time also he will blow violently into the finger-tips or into the ears, eyes, and nostrils of the sick man. This practice of *humbari*, I am led to understand, was, like that of *bara*, well known to the Orokaiva before the advent of the new cult. The fundamental idea once more seems to be that of casting out or extracting. Mr. Holland informs me that he has seen a *Diroga* man actually suck an open ulcer on another—an operation for which he received some payment and deserved it.

The treatment, however, which is specially associated with the Taro cult is that of drum-beating. The friends of a sick man will invite a number of Taro men to attend him. There is the invariable feast and probably a large concourse of more or less solicitous guests. They gather about the house of sickness and unite their voices in the songs of the *kasamba* to the continual thumping of drums. The patient may even lie in the midst of the group. It is surprising that a man in high fever should not be utterly distracted by the noise; but it is said that a native likes unpleasant medicine: he puts more faith in it. Various explanations are given of the efficacy of the *kasamba* and the drum. Some said that as they made the taro 'get up quickly', so they would make the sick man 'get up quickly'. Apparently it was considered merely an enlivening process. I am informed that one magistrate, being overtaken by the fever, submitted himself by way

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of experiment to the attentions of the Taro doctor and 'got up quickly'. Others, pointing out that the drum should be held close to the patient, explained that the taro spirit was enticed out of his suffering body into the hollow of the drum. After this the doctor should go to the gardens and beat his drum again, when the spirit, being liberated, would return to the taro. On the whole, however, we may rest assured that the drum is beaten and believed to benefit the long-enduring patient without any searching inquiry on the part of the drummer as to how it does so.

A typical example of clinical treatment has been described by Mr. C. T. Wurth : [1]

'Some time ago a man named Arai, of Koena Lakes, had a dream, and a taro named Porovi visited him and gave him directions as regards curing the sick. Thinking this might be a branch of "Baigona" I witnessed the proceedings, which were as follows :— A number of men quietly beating their drums line up in formation while two men go to the house of the sick man, carrying him out and placing him on a mat on the ground. While the patient is lying down his wife (or other relative, if single) places some cooked taro beside him. The men then dance around the sick man, beating their drums. Arai walks once around the patient, glaring at him all the time. When near the feet he suddenly stoops down, drawing his hands on each side of the patient's body, and throws something imaginary away ; he then places his hands over the patient's eyes, then catching hold of an arm (one at a time) he draws his own down to his finger-tips, pulling each finger. The legs of the patient go through the same performance, and each toe also is pulled. After each limb has been attended to Arai throws something imaginary away. All the time the men beating their drums are dancing round the patient. Arai then catches hold of the patient by the hand, and pulls him into a sitting position—up to this time apparently the patient has been unconscious—the sick man then opens his eyes and Arai says, "I fix you up, you have food." The sick man replies, "I come, I have food." He then eats the taro placed beside him, afterwards stands up, throws out each arm, and kicks out each leg, thus showing, thanks to Arai, he is thoroughly cured.'

The *Diroga* men, with whom the spear is a symbol, use it also in the treatment of the sick. Dancing about the

[1] Report by the Acting Resident Magistrate, Northern Division, in *Papua Ann. Report*, 1919–20, p. 63.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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Orokaiva dance, with its characteristic mime or drama, may justly be called an admirable work of art. The northern native is naturally musical, fond of colour and display, and built for graceful and powerful movement. These gifts he has developed into a somewhat rugged but nevertheless charming and even impressive art.

It cannot, I fear, be claimed that the Taro cult has done anything to improve or augment this existent art. The chorus singing—always no doubt very crude—has evidently received an impetus, and appears to have taken on a new form, with the special feature of a distinctive rhythm (p. 38). A few more or less meritorious dances have been devised by different sects or variant cults. But in the main the activities of the Taro men have far more of enthusiasm than of artistic form about them. Yet, since savages are very prone to express their emotions in rhythmic as well as lyrical form, it is to be hoped that the ill-controlled movements of the *jipari* may in time be replaced by others that are more formal and artistic. It would not be surprising if, when the *jipari* has completely died out of fashion, there should survive some regular dances which, while distinctive of the Taro cult, will conform more nearly to the older and eminently superior models.

In the meantime it is to be feared that the new cult has seriously set back these older ceremonial dances. The alleged decline of these in the Northern Division has been discussed in an interim report. Among several other causes it seems that the Taro cult is mainly responsible for this decline of the ceremonies, simply because it has for the time being overwhelmed them. I may be permitted to repeat an extract from the above-mentioned report. It is to be hoped that the effect spoken of will not be permanent.

'As far as my knowledge goes there is no antagonism among the Taro men toward the old-fashioned ceremonies. Certain of the Taro leaders about the Mambare have expressly denied that the old and the new are in any way incompatible; and in other parts one

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241 311 [412] true reason is so obvious to the native that he seldom thinks of explaining it. The Rotation of Areas is, in fact, a labour-saving device. With the implements at his disposal—formerly his finger-nails, a stick, and a stone axe, nowadays his finger-nails, a stick, a tomahawk, and an 18-inch trade-knife—it is infinitely more difficult to overcome the dense mass of vigorous weeds and bushes which spring up in the wake of the taro, than to clear away the bush of ten years' standing, with its somewhat meagre trees and straggling underwood. It is the primary growth which the native gardener cannot cope with. What he does is to leave the matter to nature. After a few years the saplings have sprung up and overshadowed the weeds and shrubs, and in due course as the bush develops these latter are replaced by a much thinner and less formidable array of trailers and forest undergrowth. Even in bygone days, when a tree had to be brought down with a stone axe, this light bush was an easier problem than the primary growth; now that stone has been replaced by steel, it is easier beyond all comparison.

241 313 461 [533] Sometimes the village will be almost deserted, while its population—men, women, and children—are together engaged in clearing. The work proceeds with a leisurely persistence, continual conversation, and occasional spells, when the woodman sits on a fallen tree and rattles his lime-stick and chews his betel. Now and again some cheerful worker will burst into song as he wields his axe, a mere bar or two of melody, sung at the top of his resonant Orokaiva voice. In beginning and ending it is strangely abrupt, more like a musical shout or a yodel than a song, and altogether a very good-humoured sound.

241 313 Tree felling is for the men; the cutting and dragging aside of undergrowth for the women and children. The heavier trees are suffered to lie where they fall, and will remain till long after the garden has been used and deserted. The lighter timber is stacked in high pyramids to dry for firewood, or else used, end for end, as borders for individual plots. Only the branches, leaves, and

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arise!' Such exhortations are numberless. With the Orokaiva, I believe, they are mainly spontaneous; set magical formulae, if they exist, are uncommon. It is simply a matter of putting what you wish into words, though you may have no good reason to expect a fulfilment of the wish. To see how common is this elementary form of magic among ourselves we need only observe the barrackers at a football match or the punters on a race-course.

I know of very few *set* or conventional spells among the Orokaiva, although they may exist in greater number than I am aware of. However, I have often enough heard a man saying aloud what he wants, and it may fairly be maintained that all spells are originally rather straightforward statements of some desire. By putting your wish into words you bring it nearer, give yourself a false confidence by adopting a confident tone, and give your hope a premature realization by stating it as a fact. The unintelligible spell (which I believe to be rare among the Orokaiva) may develop or rather degenerate from the intelligible spell, i.e. from the statement of a wish or hope. Primitives are so prone to accept the form of any practice and neglect its meaning that they might readily take over the actual words of the spell while they failed to grasp the content. The words, repeated without regard to their meaning, become meaningless, the spell is misapplied, and so we get gibberish and abracadabra.

The best example of such a process which the Orokaiva can supply is that of the songs of the Taro cult. It seems probable that these were in the first instance addressed to the taro plant itself, or the spirit (*atiti*) of the plant, and were in the nature of apostrophes or exhortations. This character is still recognizable in them, and one may hear the singers repeating again and again the names of various taro varieties. But they are commonly incapable of interpreting the other words of the songs. These have become little more than nonsense syllables, though the function

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of the Taro songs remains unchanged; they are still meant to make the taro grow.[1]

[The transition from spell to prayer has hardly shown itself among the Orokaiva. It occurs when some higher personal power is called upon to aid in effecting the desire of which the spell is primarily no more than a statement. Still, one might say that the spell and the prayer have the same justification in psychology. By putting our hope into words they strengthen it, though the prayer does so far more effectively by virtue of its appeal to a higher power in which we repose a very comfortable faith. It would be necessary to devote more attention to this subject if we had to discuss how a belief in superior personal powers may influence Orokaiva conduct. For the present, however, it may be dismissed with the remark that Orokaiva magic makes a relatively small appeal to any such powers.]

Another stage is reached when we begin to play-act the desired result. Either by voice, by gesture, or by some symbolic action or contrivance, we are now giving a presentation of the effect we have in mind. We have seen the sorcerer imitating the funeral conch and the wailing of the women, or groaning and exclaiming, writhing and shivering, as he hopes his victim may. We have seen the owner of the pig-trap grunting when he visits it. We might hear the gardener as he plants the slip of sugar-cane make sucking noises and cough as if he were already choking with the sweet juice of the matured plant.

Such procedures do seem to be commended by a certain reasonableness. While remaining unconvinced one does not need to be a leech or a necromancer to see the point. There are, however, certain set forms of procedure in which the point is less obvious. I may refer to three which have frequently come to my notice: they are all methods of black magic.

First there is the use of heat. This is perhaps the commonest method employed by the sorcerer for the in-

[1] Vide Taro Cult, p. 39.

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915) 1917
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158 669 tions of the "Spirit." It was decided that the group villages, acting co-operatively, should propitiate the "visitor," and that the rites taught to Boninia and others should be performed forthwith. So much spontaneity attended the services that on November 25th, when I witnessed the ritual, there were but few who remained uninitiated.

The ceremony, as I saw it, appeared to be controlled by Boninia. He invoked the presence of the "Spirit," and, to the rhythmic drumming of the younger men, he shouted [533] repeatedly *Irie! Irie!* (which are not Binandere words), and gradually worked himself up into a frenzy. The excitement of watching his efforts became too much for some of those present, and in a second or two several men and women became, like him, "possessed." After the manner of drunken men they staggered through the village, falling over obstacles, bumping into trees and houses, their faces twitching and eyes rolling. They exhibited a stilted, jerky movement of arms and limbs and laboured respiration. With the palms of their hands outward, some shrieked, others sobbed, and many were silent. Those who were unaffected continued drumming and chanting in a low key the taro song which the "Spirit" had taught to Boninia. I noticed one of the drummers, who had previously been unvisited, gradually giving way to the feeling. He appeared at first to resist; but, after a short struggle, he displayed the symptoms of the "possession." He staggered a few feet, and then fell to the ground in a fit. The other drummers encircled him, and, changing to quick time, moved round him singing an ordinary food song. At this stage Boninia revived automatically, and treated the boy with vigorous rubbing and slapping, calling repeatedly in his ear *Do! do! do!* At length the boy responded and was placed upright. He was kept moving in order to prevent a relapse threatened by his puffed face and stupefied manner. Then the elder men were treated by Boninia, and they in turn revived the others with similar treatment. All of them appeared strained and drowsy for hours afterwards. During the ceremony those who remained unaffected appeared to be ill at ease, and many of the women exhibited great concern at the behaviour of their children, particularly the mother of the boy "visited" for the first time. The boy told me that the "Spirit" had taught him, when in the fit, the names of certain charms to plant in his garden, and had given him other information which would be passed on as general knowledge to the cult. On a second occasion I saw another man "visited" for the first time, and the procedure was similar throughout.

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915) 1917
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668 I witnessed the rites of Kekesi on November 26, 1914. They were performed with every appearance of sincerity and fanaticism. The man Yavevi conducted the ceremony, and seemed to be under the hypnotic influence of the man Bia, who remained throughout silent and carefully watching us. When the proceedings at all dragged, Bia would instil enthusiasm by throwing himself into a fit of convulsions from the [158] waist upwards, jumping violently up and down while remaining in a sitting posture, and babbling intelligibly, the saliva dropping from his mouth. In this condition he would be joined by Yavevi and some of the other men, whilst those remaining unaffected would redouble their efforts. Yavevi and Bia revived automatically, and Yavevi conducted the others through their prayer-like devotions.

The rites were forbidden in November, but shortly afterwards—in December and January—Bia paid stealthy visits to the villages of the Gira River. And at the end of December the whole of the people of the Gira from the coast to Tabara and the Eia River in the west were performing the Kekesi rites as described above, with additional songs.

[533]

*Gagara ba nato mi badari*
Girl taro mine with to grow up

*Taba oro gaingumena*
(Taro) greeting I have come to see

*Ba wariwari*
Taro leaves shaking in the wind

*Ba ro beroberobe*
Taro grow quickly

*Ba sipo-tau-iegi*
Taro daylight

Notwithstanding the prohibition, the rites have been introduced by Yavevi to the coastal tribes as far south as Buna Bay. Yavevi informed me, on one occasion, that he was influenced by Bia, and that he could not possibly refrain from indulging in fits when Bia was near him. On that account he was sent to Buna, where it was thought he would be beyond the influence of Bia. Yet shortly after leaving the Mambare he returned to Bia, and, upon once more reaching Buna, commenced the Kekesi teachings in that place.

E. W. P. CHINNERY.

Kikori.

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
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|---|---|---|
| Standing | Chorus . | *Ba iso nav* (repeated several times). |
| Sitting | Solo . | *Kekesi lolo na ba iso nau.* |
| Sitting | Chorus . | *Iri-e! Iri-e! Iri-e! Ta ba Iri-e!* |
| Kneeling | Solo (slowly) . | *Koi ba Kekesi ba iu ba na lubanawai ohi to.* |
| Standing | Chorus . | *Ire-e! Ire-e! Ire-e!* |
| Kneeling (hands clasped and eyes closed) | Chorus . | *Hallikuni! Hallibate! Hallikauni!* |
| Standing (with drums) | Chorus . | *Manamba da ko-e*<br>*Kekesi da manamba da ko-e*<br>*Kesi da manamba da ko-e*<br>*Kekesi da manamba da ko-e.* |
| Kneeling (as above) | Chorus . | *Hallikuni! Hallibate! Hallikuni!* |
| Standing (with drums) | Chorus . | *Taba da manambi ko-e*<br>*Ovivi da manambi ko-e*<br>*Godara da manambi ko-e.* |

(Thus recite all names of taro in turn.)

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Kesi is the name of the steamer in which I travel from place to place. And the songs I am giving you must be sung regularly by all the people, otherwise trouble will come to you. The vitality of your food supply depends upon the manner in which you obey my desires. When going to and from the gardens the people are not to straggle along, but to fall in, similar to the police working for the Government. The following commands may be given to the people whilst working in the garden or coming to and from the same:—*A kush! A sha! A shun man! A shun be! A hon de shen! A som!* These commands are to be issued by the man Yavevi.' This is all that was said to me on that occasion, and the two Spirits left me. Shortly afterwards Kekesi came by himself, and, in a different manner to his previous speaking, said the following:—'Wak kaise Dasiga kerere. Wai kaise Dasiga kerere! Kekesi Boinumbai kononini tai vavini koninino ato bos Kesi Jesu Kerisa ked kom turn bush etai taba kai sol manau giama vavini slem bush Jesu Kerisa Kekesi dugus igit goot dugus goot vork work gardini finati giama Dasiga nart Mamau soro sino Government Missionary all same Kekesi met Missionary taro sino.'[1] Kekesi's speech was not in the Binandere language. I understood it, and it means that one boy had stolen his brother's wife, and that Kekesi was very angry with him and desired me to tell him so. The man's name is Dasiga. Kekesi has not visited me since."

[241]

[1] This conversation appears to be an indiscriminate mixture of New Guinea words of various districts and of many words that are unknown, but are obviously inventions of Bia, as I proved when two days after taking them down phonetically I asked Bia to repeat to me the teachings and conversation of Kekesi. He pleaded "bad memory."